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After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is perhaps the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female members of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Routledge (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage. Other men of the Miru could marry into any descent line.

Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the different tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapau*).

Geographical Distribution of Tribes

Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited. On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroi. On the west of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of Rano-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and composed of only a few members.

The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions corresponding roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui* (greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata iti* (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divisions had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institution. It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups, the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti that the tribes of the west are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-iti was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

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individual who assisted at the feast. At night the people at Orongo retired into the houses of their respective lineages. During the feast, if a group wanted to remain for a while in the house of the god, they had to put a circlet on the head of the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia (p. 298) which stood outside, and the people who had been there earlier left. (This rite as it is recorded here is meaningless.)

As September approached, the *hopu* on the islet paid increasing attention to the birds and spent all day reciting prayers or incantations. When they had reason to think that the birds had begun to lay eggs, they rushed out from the caves to look for them.

The *hopu* whose master was not designated by Makemake would step on an egg without seeing it, whereas the *hopu* of the candidate selected by the gods would see it immediately. As soon as he discovered the egg, he jumped on a stony prominence called Rangi-te-manu and from there he shouted, "So and so, puoko te varu (shave your head)." This announcement was heard by a man who kept watch in a cave below Orongo, called Haka-rongo-manu (Listening-for-the-birds).

Before returning to Orongo the unsuccessful *hopu* waited for the winner lest the crossing of the channel be unsafe. The winning *hopu* put his egg in a little basket which he dipped into the sea, and then tied to his forehead. The man with the sacred egg was always the last to leave the island. Being blessed by the gods and having with him an object overflowing with mana, he had little to fear from sharks, and his supernatural power gave protection to his fellow contestants. The magical properties of the egg, together with the protection of the gods, made the winning *hopu's* swimming not only safe but extremely fast.

At Orongo the *hopu* handed the egg to his employer who had in the meantime shaved his hair, his brows, and his eyelashes. A priest (Routledge says a *rongorongo*, which is very unlikely) tied a strand of red tape and a piece of sandalwood (*ngaungau*) around the bird-man's arm which was tapu from having received the egg. The priest recited a special incantation during the ceremony.

The relatives of the bird-man sang and danced (*hokohoko*), celebrating their victory. The bird-man held the egg on the palm of his hand wherein lay a piece of tapa (*haka epa*). He walked down the slopes of Rano-kao toward Mataveri, dancing and chanting. Tepano still remembered the tune of this chant, but unfortunately he did not know the words. It sounded like tremulous weeping, and my informant said that the bird-man cried and "behaved like a god." He gave me the description as it had been given by the old men. "The men had dancing paddles (*rapa*) in their hands and they jumped with them. They wore on their heads wigs of women's hair, tapa headdresses or wreaths of *toro-miro* leaves. Tufts of women's hair hung be-

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hind. Everybody else carried *ao* (dance paddles) and they shook their bodies." 796

Early information gathered at Tahiti by Admiral de Lapelin (129, p. 110) 792 describes the bird-man as he came down from Orongo after the finding of the egg:

> The man who was lucky enough to find the first egg or the first small bird hurried to show it to all the other competitors. They shaved his head, his face was painted in red and black; all those who had found eggs after he did constituted his retinue. These warriors distributed eggs to those they wanted to keep near the king who was elected for a year, without any lack of regard for the king who reigned by right of primogeniture. 796 792 302 643
>
> Each with an egg on his hand and the new majesty with a bird hanging on his shoulders walked about in the surrounding places singing and dancing. The new king designated two or three persons who must be sacrificed for the prosperity of his reign. It was the choice of the victims which caused a war among the tribes every year.

The new bird-man went to Rano-raraku where he remained in seclusion 792 in a house whose foundations may be seen at the foot of the volcano, close to the giant statues. Other houses on the slope of Rano-raraku and near ahu Tonga-riki were designated to Routledge as having been used by bird-men. More likely, although no proof may be produced for or against it, seems the tradition that there were houses for *tangata-manu* in most of the larger settlements which had important image ahus. Routledge (192, p. 351) considers this multiplicity of *tangata-manu* houses to be a modern development. She was also told that the bird-men of the western tribes took up residence at Anakena.

The *manu-tara* egg was emptied after three days, filled with tapa, and 792 hung up inside the bird-man's house. It was credited with great magical 778 virtues and the natives believed that it made the food supply more abundant. The deep-sea fishing season opened with the coming of the first *manu-tara*. Routledge (194, p. 262) says that " . . . till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous."

The seclusion of the bird-man lasted one year, during which he was under 792 strict tapu, especially during the first five months. Routledge (194, p. 248) 784 says that he could not leave the house, "sleeping all the day, only coming out to sit in the shade." He was not allowed to bathe himself or to eat food other than that which was prepared for him in a special oven. His wife might go to Rano-raraku, but she could not "enter his house and he hers, on pain of death." The *tangata-manu* was attended by an *ivi-atua*, who, according to Routledge, was not an ordinary priest, but a poor relative of the hero. This attendant or priest remained in the same hut which was divided in half by a partition. He prepared the food for the bird-man and himself, cooking his own in a separate oven. Clark (52, p. 145) heard that the bird-man did not wash or cut his hair or nails during his year of seclusion.

Thomson (215, p. 482), Routledge (194, p. 264), and I were all told that 792 gifts of food were brought to the *tangata-manu*. He was entitled to the first 688

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792 688 [551 805]

sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis for a convenient system of chronology.

792 554 643 661

All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selection of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Make-make as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

792 661

Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

792 173

The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men; probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

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Rokunga[17], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson."

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu.

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people.

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded.

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes:

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal.
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

[17] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past.

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It is impossible to determine whether this rite was performed by a tribe who had not yet participated in the race or whether it was independent of the bird cult. De Lapelin (129, p. 110, note 2) speaks of the gathering of young birds as well as of eggs. Probably this second egg hunt occurred only occasionally or else was undertaken for economic reasons.

In the preceding descriptions of the bird cult, significant contradictions appear in the data brought forward by early sources and the evidence gathered by Routledge. Although Routledge must take precedence over other authorities because of her systematic investigation of the ceremony, the testimonies of missionaries, who were eyewitnesses and the victims of the events, cannot be treated as irrelevant. It is possible to reconcile all these discrepancies and to reconstruct in a harmonious scheme all the rites of the bird cult.

Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 67) and Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) name September as the month when the feast was at its height and the competition in progress. Gana (86, p. 32), on the authority of Roussel, places the feast at the time when the birds were nesting, and Thomson (215, p. 483) names July. The election of the bird-man occurred in September when the conflicts between the groups started. The duration of the feast was, according to Eyraud, two months; according to Gana, one lunar month; and according to Thomson, only a short period in July. There is no contemporary evidence for such a long span of time as that given by Routledge, and it is unlikely than an entire population should move for a whole year to a place where there were no fields and little comfort.

For the feast, I should propose the following schema: In July, probably until the end of the month, groups gathered at Mataveri and Orongo and performed the first ceremonies to procure the favor of the gods in the race. In August the *hopu* went to Motu-nui and stayed there awaiting the coming of the first *manu tara*. In September the first eggs were found, the bird-man of the year selected, and great feasts held at Orongo. Jealousy or excesses committed by the bird-man's group brought about strife on the island. Later the bird-man, under a heavy tapu, retired for his year's seclusion.

The importance of the bird cult cannot be denied in the face of the Orongo ruins and the numerous images of bird-men carved on the rocks. Traditions, testimonies of early missionaries, and records of travelers confirm the exceptional importance of the cult ritual as well as the social order built on this annual competition. Williamson (228, vol. 1, p. 406) suggests that the contest was, at least at an early period, for the secular kingship. His chief argument is the trifling privileges of the bird-man as compared with the complex emotionalism of the feast. He is inclined to identify the bird-man with those kings who exercised a temporary power and were dismissed or killed when their physical force decreased. The function of the bird-man was also similar to that of the divinized kings, symbolizing vegetation or the god of vegetation,

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who reigned without taking part in the civilian government. Such an explanation would be quite natural if there were in Polynesia any other example of an institution of this kind, but in no Polynesian community is there the slightest hint of such a custom.

One should keep in mind that the feast was in honor of Makemake and Haua, the first being a bird-god. He probably derived this attribute from Tane with whom he has some characteristics in common. Images of a being with a bird head and a human body, sometimes holding an egg in his hand, are representations of the god Makemake. It follows that the bird-man was an incarnation of the god. Probably, according to the Polynesian way of thinking, he was the receptacle of the god. The race would thus have no other purpose than to give Makemake an opportunity to designate the man into whose body he wished to enter. I suppose that the bird-man, because of his highly sacred character, was authorized to plunder and to avail himself of the goods of other natives. His seclusion may well have been a result of the strong tapu attached to him as a consequence of his contact with the god. Even explained in terms of Polynesian culture, the institution of the bird-man recalls that of the temporary kings, principally those of Siam. Possibly the evolution of culture traits has created a cultural complex superficially akin to others, probably having an entirely different basis.

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Cults

The complex of the bird cult as it is reconstructed from second-hand information has no parallel in the rest of Polynesia. Of course, incarnation of gods in animals is a fundamental character of Polynesian religions, but nowhere else were there open competitions resulting in the election of a sacred man. Figures of a man with a bird's head occur elsewhere only on the island of Lanai in the Hawaiian group. There Emory found petroglyphs representing a man with a bird head, and suggests (75, p. 120) that it is not by chance that the bank on which these petroglyphs are carved is called Kaneapua, the name of a bird-man, and that a heiau near the bank bears the name Halulu, a mythical bird. The common motif of Maori art called *manaia* has been described as a fantastic being with a bird head. Actually it is probably a derivative of the traditional representation of the human figure.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Disease was treated by priests (*ivi-atua*) and was probably connected with religion as in Mangareva. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 70) says that the natives merely removed the sick from their huts during the day and returned them at night. My inquiries contradict Eyraud's hasty statement; it is likely that magic beliefs and scientific conceptions were closely intermingled with practical treatments.

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another carving, a small design which is also very frequent, still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalized by having one of these representations cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know therefore that conventional forms were used as memorials of certain definite persons.[1]

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his hand, palm upwards, on a piece of tappa and danced with a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the southern coast. This procedure, which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg, was continued till the party reached Rano Raraku, the mountain especially connected with the images. This mountain is at the south-east end of the island, some ten miles distant from Rano Kao; it resembles the latter in being an extinct volcano with a crater lake, but stands back a mile from the coast and is only about 500 feet in height; its shape is that of a shallow vessel of which the base is larger than the brim.[2] On the south side of the mountain, towards the summit, are extensive workings in which lie scores of images in every stage of evolution. These quarries are both within the crater and outside, and below them, on the debris and detritus, a large number of the figures have been set up. Amongst the statues thus placed on the exterior slope, most of which are still standing, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house. This is the point which would first be approached from the southern coast, and in this house the bird-man remained

[1] This figure with that of the bird-man and the so are all roughly carved on the back of the statue at the British Museum. They appear to be later workmanship than the raised ring and girdle to which allusion is made below. Unfortunately, the light in the portico is bad.

[2] The word "Rano" signifies a crater lake. It is, according to Turner, Malagasy for water, but is only used in Easter Island in the restricted sense.

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[194] [192] or a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg which was still kept on tappa was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of [292] human hair; it was known as "hau oho," and if it was not worn the "spirits would be angry."

The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man, who was called an iviatua, but was of an inferior type from the one gifted with prophecy and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking places, as even he might not share that [431] of the Bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The [184] Bird-man's wife came to Raraku but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house nor he hers on pain of death. A few yards below [766] the bird-house is an "ahu" or burial place; it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain with the ground above levelled and paved; it was reserved for the burial of bird-men; corpses in Easter Island were frequently exposed, not buried, but a bird-man was an uncanny person whose ghost might do unpleasant things, he was safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain with its houses, its ahu and its statues. As the Bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house there stretched away in front of him the low rocky coast marked by a [133] white line of surf and ending in the swelling side and precipitous cliff of Rano Kao, the scene of his triumph. Above him, as he sat there, were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood

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for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain those of bird-men?

The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Mata-toa he could come to Orohié, but he might also reside in his own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right hand as that had taken the egg. Gifts of food were supplied for three months by his late employer, but he could not eat them on pain of death; they were therefore forwarded to others. The same rule applied to any present from the hopu to the bird-man. His wife and children were also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Mata-toa had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri, the egg being, it was said, handed to them for a few minutes as a sign of succession. From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first egg was laid they absented themselves from the islet for a period varyingly reported as from three days to a month; on their return they laid plentifully and as soon as the nestlings were hatched the Mata-toa carried them to the mainland, swimming with them in baskets bound round the forehead after the manner of the first egg. They were then taken in procession round the island, or, according to another account, as far as Orohié. It was not until the "piu" had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the egg, the period of commencement being known as "Toro," and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to god, to eat them would prove fatal. Some of the young manu-tara were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied round the wing and leg and they were

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194 told "Kaho ki te hiva," "Go to the world outside"; there was no objection to eating the young birds. The tara departed from Motu Nui about March, but a few stragglers remained; we saw one bird and obtained eggs at the beginning of July, but the natives failed to get any for us in August. When in the following spring the new Bird-man had achieved his egg, he brought it to Orohié and was given the old one which he buried in a gourd in a cranny of Rano Raraku; he then took the place of his predecessor, who returned to his ordinary life.

194 While the foregoing may be described as the accepted 198 procedure in connection with the finding of the first egg, 192 it must not, as will readily be understood, be regarded as absolutely fixed and unvarying—the ceremonial of even an English Coronation is subject to alteration. Also before the end the cult admittedly degenerated and residence at Orongo was abandoned. Some years the race was a "walk over" for one man, the remaining competitors having been squared; on other occasions the finders of further eggs in the hunt beside the absolute first one were allowed to count as bird-men.[1] In this last case the year was said, in answer to a question, to be known by the name of the name of the first finder, all the eggs being finally disposed of in one gourd. It was very definitely volunteered that this plurality was a late development, that originally there was only one bird-man each year. When there were thus several winners one hopu used sometimes to act for more than one employer; a single employer also might have more than one hopu. The fourth year before the final end seems to have been very much "go as you please," for four clans took part and there were ten winners; two hopu had two employers each, and three bird-men took their own eggs, one also acting for another man. With regard to the disposal of the egg one old man said that it was not

[1] This accounts for the large number of bird-men still surviving, see above.

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always hidden in a hole; it might be thrown into the sea or kept and buried with the bird-man. The place of residence for the taboo period was also subject to variation. Orohié was mentioned with pre-eminence, but there were other bird-houses on the Raraku slope and one on the adjoining ahu of Tongariki, some used more particularly when there was more than one bird-man; it transpired also that it was permissible for a man to remain in his own place though he could not stay in his own dwelling; in most of the larger settlements, which would be those with important image ahus, there was a house specially appointed for the residence of the local bird-man should he so elect, but this may have been a later development. The bird-men of the Western clans had a special Mecca in Anakena on the north coast, where the annual inspection of the tablets took place, and an adjoining spot; they went there in all the cases which could be quoted, with the exception of two or three who took up their abode at Raraku, but it was said by three authorities that these places were only resorted to when there was war between the clans and the western men dared not venture into the eastern territory of Orohié. It is a tempting surmise that the quarries and statues inside the Raraku crater, which is entered by a road from the west, may have been associated originally with the Western clans, and those outside the mountain with the Eastern. If so it is not improbable that, owing to internicine war, the work in the crater was suspended first, which would account for the much smaller number of completed statues found inside the crater.[1]

The last year which the Ao went to Orongo, which is known as "Rokunga," appears to have been 1866 or 1867. The names of twelve subsequent years are given during

[1] Thirty statues have been erected inside the crater against some fifty-five outside, exclusive of those around the base, which appear to have formed the approach.

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to a relative, who was the father of an old man from whom we managed to obtain it. When the time came to hand it over to us, the late owner began to cling to it affectionately, and say that he "wept much at the thought of its going to England"; as, however, the bargain had already been completed, we remained obdurate, and at the time of writing Hotu resides with Ko Tori at the Royal College of Surgeons.

The Miru were unique in other ways; they were the only group which had a headman or chief, who was known as the "ariki," or sometimes as the "ariki-mau," the great chief, to distinguish him from the "ariki-paka," a term which seems to have been given to all other members of the clan.[1] The office of ariki-mau was hereditary, and he was the only man who was obliged to marry into his own clan. It was customary when he was old and feeble that he should resign in favour of his son. There are various lists of the succession of chiefs, counted from the first immigrant, Hotu-matua. The oldest lists are those given by Bishop Jaussen[2] and by Admiral Lapelin,[3] which contain some thirty names. Thomson gives one with fifty-seven. In our day there was admittedly much uncertainty about the sequence, but the number was said to be thirty,[4] and two independent lists were obtained. All these categories differ, though they contain many of the same names, particularly at the beginning and end.

The last man to fill the post of ariki with its original dignity was Ngaara; he died shortly before the Peruvian raid, and becomes a very real personage to anyone inquiring into the history of the island. He was short, and very stout, with white skin, as had all his family, but so heavily tattooed as to look black. He wore feather hats of various descriptions, and was hung round both back and front with little wooden ornaments, which jingled as he walked. When our authorities can remember him his wife was dead and he lived with his son Kaimokoi. It was not permitted to see them eat, and no one but the servants was allowed to enter the house. His headquarters were at Anakena, the cove on the island where, according to tradition, the first canoe landed.

[1] Evidence on this head was rather contradictory, but no Miru could be found, male or female, to whom the title was not given.

[2] "L'Ile de Paques," M. Tépano Jaussen, *Bulletin Géographique*, 1893, p. 241.

[3] *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vol. xxxv, p. 109.

[4] Thirty is, however, a very favourite number: cf. the folk-tales.

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the first canoe landed. (It is unique in having a sandy shore, and is surrounded by an amphitheatre of low hills. Behind it to the west rises the high central ground of the island, beyond it, on the other side, is the eastern plain;) it (thus) approximately terminates the strip of land held by the Miru (fig. 97). There are now at Anakena the remains of six ahu, a few statues, and the foundations of various houses. Ngaara held official position for the whole island, but he was neither a leader in war, nor the fount of justice, nor even a priest; he can best be described as the custodian of certain customs and traditions. The act most nearly approaching a religious ceremony was conducted under his auspices, though not by him personally. In time of drought he sent up a younger son and other ariki-paka to a hill-top to pray for rain: they were painted on one side red, on the other black with a stripe down the centre. These prayers were addressed to Hiro, said to be the god of the sky, a supernatural being in whom we seem getting nearer the idea of a divinity, as distinct from a spirit of the dead, and of whom we would gladly have learnt more than could be discovered.

The ariki-paka had other duties besides praying for rain; they made "maru," or strings of white feathers tied on to sticks, which they placed among the yams to make them grow. They buried a certain small fish among the sugar-canes to bring up the plants, and when a koro was being held, and it was consequently particularly desirable that the fowls should thrive, an ariki-paka painted a design in red, known as the "rei-miro," below the door of the chicken-house (fig. 115).

Te Haha, the "social success," who was an ariki-paka in the entourage of Ngaara, gave graphic descriptions of life at Anakena when he was a boy. If, he said, people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with maru, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results.

Ngaara never consumed rats, and one day, coming across the boy watching rats being cooked, he was extremely angry, for it transpired that, if Te Haha had eaten them, his power for producing chickens would have diminished; presumably because he would have imbibed ratty nature, which was disastrous to eggs and young chickens. The Ariki, however, made himself useful to him on occasion. The younger Miru had long hair reaching to his heels, and one day, when he was asleep in a cave, some one cut it

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off. So he went to Ngaara, who told him to bring ten coconuts, which he broke and put in pieces of the sacred tree, "ngau-ngau"; the spell blasted the offender, who promptly died. Ngaara himself attended the inauguration of any house of importance. The wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch, and the Ariki and an ivi-atua, who "went with him like a tatane," were the first to eat in the new dwelling: only the houses with stone foundations were thus honoured. The Ariki was visited one month in the year by "all people," who brought him the plant known as pua on the end of sticks, put the pua into his house, and retired backwards.

He also held receptions on other occasions, seated on the broken-off head of an old image, which was pointed out on a grassy declivity among the hills behind Anakena; these were special occasions for criticising the tattoo. Those who were well tattooed were sent to stand on one hill slope, whilst those who were badly done were sent to another; the Ariki and men behind him laughed contemptuously at the latter (which, as the process was permanent and could not be altered, seems slightly unkind). These receptions were also attended by men who had made boats, and by twins, to whom the Ariki gave a "royal name." Such children were not, as in so many countries, considered unlucky, but it was necessary that at birth they should live in a house apart, otherwise they would not survive. This superstition still exists. Shortly before our arrival a woman in the village had given birth to twins, for whom a little grass house was put up; another woman went in and brought them out to the mother to nurse.

The Script

Closely connected with the subject of the Miru clan is that of the method of writing. While we can only catch glimpses of the image cult through the mists of antiquity, the tablets, known as "kohau-rongo-rongo,"[1] were an integral part of life on the island within the memory of men not much past middle age (fig. 98). The highest authority on them was the ariki Ngaara. It was tantalising to feel how near we were to their translation and yet how far. Te Haha had begun to learn to write, but found that his hand shook too much, besides, as he explained, Ngaara

[1] Sometimes called koho-rongo-rongo.